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Thinking in Islands

The Portuguese perception of the Indonesian archipelago and particularly of Sunda in early texts and charts

SVANN LANGGUTH

Abstract

This article discusses various early sources on the Indonesian archipelago. It starts with the status of knowledge before the first voyage of the Portuguese to the Moluccas from accounts of travellers to insular Southeast Asia in the Middle Ages and the picture on world maps European cartographers produced. Comparing that view with text sources and the resulting geographic material of the first expeditions by the Portuguese provides an insight into contemporary mechanisms of knowledge transfer. Certain effects can be traced and are repeated on different levels of access to the original facts mainly because most maps were drawn up in Europe but based on the geographic description provided by text accounts. An abundance and multiplication of failures and mistakes is evident and is partly related to the scarcity of sources and due to reproduction techniques.

Keywords

Portuguese perception, Indonesian archipelago, Sunda, world maps, cartography, toponym.

Introduction

The first official mission of a European country to the so-called "spice islands" took place after the conquest of Malacca in 1511 by Albuquerque who subsequently sent Antonio de Abreu, Francisco Serrao, and the cartographer Francisco Rodrigues to the Moluccas. They started in Malacca, sailed along the northeast coast of Sumatra, passed the north coast of Java and went on to the southern Moluccas (Salentiny 1991: 134-135). With this expedition, the

SVANN LANGGUTH studied Austronesian languages and literature at the University of Hamburg from 1990 to 1994 and Indonesian languages and literature at Cologne, Germany from 1994 to 1998. He wrote his master thesis in 1998 "Meompalo – A Buginese story" and his dissertation in 2010 "Not a word without meaning - Sunda as a name and word in three discourses of power". He has been a lektor from German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) at the Universitas Padjadjaran from 2002 to 2007 and is now working as a DAAD-lektor at the German Department of the University of Indonesia. His current scientific interests are hydronyms of West-Java and semiotics of contemporary music of Indonesia. Svann Langguth may be contacted at: langguth@daadjkt.org.

Portuguese finally reached their primary goal: they discovered a direct trade route to the islands where the nutmeg and clove tree grow. These spices, besides pepper, were high priced Asian trade goods on the markets all over Europe.

This article[1] presents some materials to add to our understanding of how the Portuguese processed and treated their knowledge of the area before and after their first visit to the Indonesian archipelago. The focus is on various toponyms and how they have been treated during history, moved in space or were even just invented. Having just read "My journey from Paris to Java" by Honoré de Balzac (2010) I found the following very apt quotation from Nigel Barley who wrote the foreword to that book:

> Yet, an alternative history can be written, whereby the West took its ideas with it as it travelled, transforming and projecting them onto the world that it found, so that many of the new places visited were not so much 'discovered' as merely fixed on the map, since they had been invented in European thought long – sometimes centuries – before (Balzac 2010: 7).

We can assume that up to now knowledge is handled in this way due to our personal socialization and background. Thinking of the European countries as separated islands may be the normal assumption of someone originating from an archipelago. On the other hand, there may be people who do not understand that people demarcate their territory strictly by mythologizing such a thing like a forbidden river like the Sundanese and Javanese have done so they can say that they do not live on the same island, is a mainland structured thought.

Short historical background

In the fifteenth century, the spice trade with Arabia and East Asia passed through Constantinople (now Istanbul) and through Venice. After Sultan Mehmed II sacked Constantinople in 1453, trade to Europe deteriorated. The former dominance of Italy and the East-Roman City disappeared and rising countries in Europe saw their chance to obtain a share of the trade.

On 4 July 1493, Pope Alexander VI divided the world in a Spanish and a Portuguese hemisphere. The longitude for the division was re-established in 1494, running then approximately 1550 km west to the Cape Verde Islands, giving Portugal's king Dom João the right to rule over his dominions in Brazil.

An important implication of this division was the determination of the exact circumference of the world, because that affected among others the decision who had "the right to own" the Moluccas and therefore the right to control the spice trade. In 1519-1522, Magellan undertook the first European sailing expedition around the globe and made the first attempt to measure the world.

[1] This article is the text version of the presentation with the title "Thinking in Islands" given at International Seminar "Rethinking Indonesia as the root of civilization", FIB UI, Depok, 2012. It based partly on the first main chapter of my dissertation.

Because of Constantinople's and Venice's downfall, new powers in Europe fought for the domination of the trade with Asia. Spain and Portugal were the foremost competitors in the profitable business of Asian goods. Both tried to discover a new route to "India" which included China and the whole of East Asia. They choose to go around Africa or, like Columbus, went to the West across the Atlantic Ocean.

But what did Europe know in the fifteenth century about the world east of India? How did Portugal prepare itself for its first expeditions to the East? The ruler of Portugal, Dom Henrique (1394-1460), started a well-planned enterprise. He built a centre for astronomical observation in Sagres. He founded academies in Lisbon and Lagos for the development of nautical instruments and ships: the Caravel. Also in the field of cartography, the Portuguese made progress: the *Portolan* chart (Gomes de Brito and Pögl 1983: 9). To collect as much knowledge as possible, the Portuguese bought, copied, and stole accounts, reports, and maps from all over Europe.

Knowledge before 1511

There are quite a few texts by European travellers of the Middle Ages that contain accounts of Asia, for example: Johannes de Plano Carpini (travelled 1245-1247) and Wilhelm von Rubruk (travelled 1253-1255) who was sent by the Pope to travel over land to the Court of the Emperor of Mongolia in Karakorum. Marco Polo travelled as a merchant to China from 1271 to 1291 (see Knust 1983). The Franciscan Odoric de Pordenone travelled between 1316 and 1318 and returned to Italy in 1330.

The *Rihla* (Arabic travel account) of Ibn Battuta (travelled 1325-1354) with its short account of Java should also be mentioned here even though it was unknown in Europe in the fifteenth century (see R.E. Dunn 2005; Gibb 1929). One of the most influential naming of the islands in Southeast Asia was done by Marco Polo. He introduced the two islands "Java Major" and "Java Minor" to the European mind. The identification of Large Java and Small Java was to keep generations of sailors and cartographers occupied and might be one of the reasons why there are the Greater and the Lesser Sunda Islands today.

Between the middle of the thirteenth century until the middle of the fifteenth century, we continuously or rather constantly find European reports from the east of Asia. To get an impression of the style used in these reports from the Middle Ages here follows a passage from Odoric de Pordenone[2] as quoted in Collingridge (1906: n.p.):

> We give here Odoric's account of the regions south of the equator from Yule's excellent and now scarce work, Cathay and the way Thither, published by the Hakluyt Society.--Volume. i. page 87.
>
> 21. The friar speaketh of the excellent island called Java.
> In the neighbourhood of that realm is a great island, *Java* by name, which hath

[2] An English version of the report from Marco Polo was not available.

> a compass of a good three thousand miles. And the king of it hath subject to himself seven crowned kings. Now this island is populous exceedingly, and is the second best of all islands that exist. For in it grow camphor, cubebs, cardamoms, nutmegs, and many other precious spices. It hath also very great stores of all victuals save wine.
>
> The king of this island hath a palace which is truly marvellous. For it is very great, and hath very great staircases, broad and lofty, and the steps thereof are of gold and silver alternately. Likewise the pavement of the palace hath one tile of gold and the other of silver, and the wall of the same is on the inside plated all over with plate of gold, on which are sculptured knights all of gold, which have great golden circles round their heads, such as we give in these parts to the figures of saints. And these circles are all beset with precious stones. Moreover, the ceiling is all of pure gold, and to speak briefly, this palace is richer and finer than any existing at this day in the world.
>
> Now the Great Khan of Cathay many a time engaged in war with this king; but this king always vanquished and got the better of him. And many other things there be which I write not.

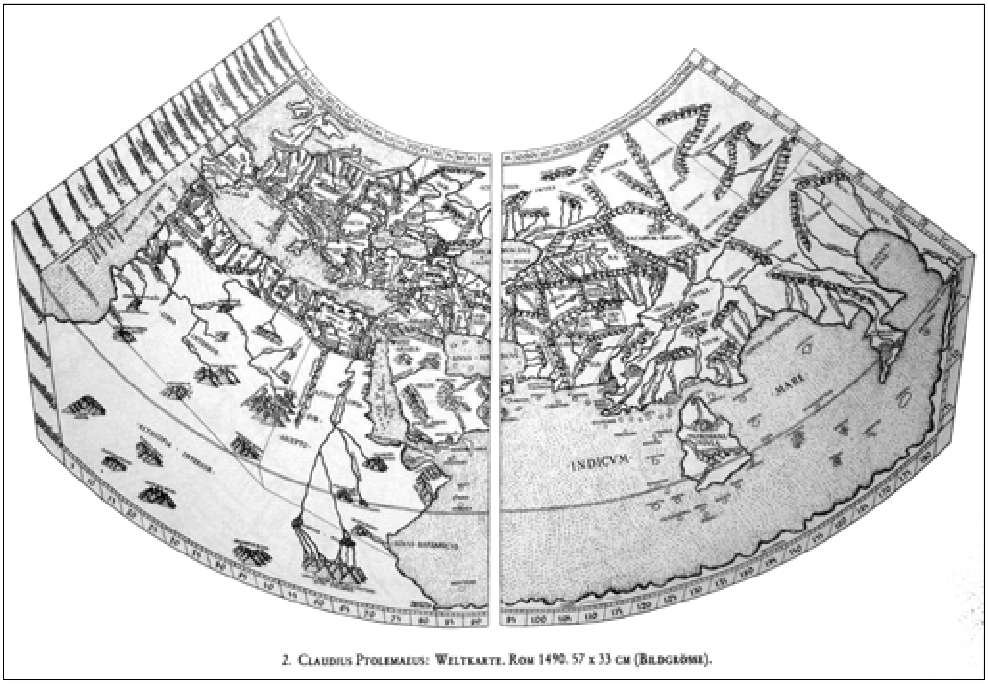
Of course these reports mix eye witness accounts with hearsay, facts with myth, and rational thinking with subjective impressions. Furthermore, the reports themselves were often copies, translations, or dictations.

Dom Henrique brought Italian captains, Jewish merchants and Catalonian cartographers to the Algarve in order to classify the contents of the report and to separate the trustworthy from the assumable. These people were also a sources who were within reach (Daus 1983: 32 in M. Dunn 1984: 83). Even the knowledge of the classic Greek geographers went through a renaissance: the Ptolemaic world description came to be used to draw maps. Claudius Ptolemy lived (90 AD–168 AD) in Alexandria and he wrote the *Geographia*, which at the time was the most complete description of the known world (Stückelberger and Graβhoff 2006). It was of course known in the fifteenth century that this view of the world was outdated, but there was so little new proven knowledge, that even this source might contain something of importance.

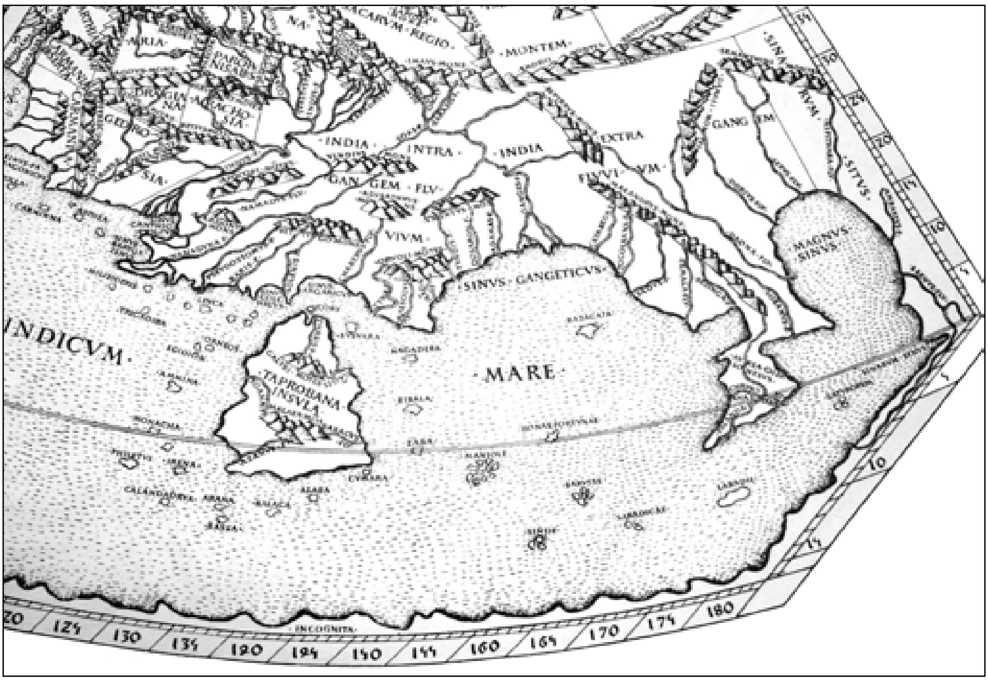
The world map from 1490 (Maps 1-2)[3] gives an impression of the Classic Greek description of the world as it was known for nearly 2000 years:

We find some basic assumptions of the classic world. The southern end of Africa was as yet unknown. The Indian Ocean (Indicum Mare) was depicted as a closed sea surrounded by land. One big island, Taprobana Insula, was shown to be in the Indian Ocean, which maybe the today's Sri Lanka. This island is surrounded by some smaller islands, one of which is named Sinde, called Sandai in Ptolemy's original. The eastern end of the map probably shows the Malay Peninsula.

[3] The quality of these illustrations and the following illustrations in this article is the same as in the original (Editor).



Map 1. Map following the description of the world by Ptolemy 1490 (Pantenburg 1970: Plate 2).



Map 2. Eastern end of the Map following the description of the world by Ptolemy 1490 (Pantenburg 1970: Plate 2).

The island Taprobana should be remembered as it is to resurface on maps until the end of the sixteenth century. Even though the island Sri Lanka will be "re-discovered" and named in variation of its former name Ceylon, Seilam, Seylan, or Zoilon, Taprobana was not merely eliminated but, because of its great importance in the classic reports, was moved to the east.

Maps from European sources before 1511

The Portuguese tried to prepare their voyages as well as possible. The sailors and travellers did not undertake journeys to the "unknown" but to the "uncertain" and they took their particular notions and concept of the "possible" with them. On their approach to East Asia, they approved or dismissed this concept. However, some terms, names, and assumptions proved to be more persistent than others, as will be seen below.

The five charts (Maps 3-7) give an impression of the idea of the world and the Indonesian Archipelago at the end of the fifteenth century before the Portuguese had reached this part of the world.



FRA MAURO'S MAP OF THE WORLD (1459)

Map 3. Mappa Mundi by Fra Mauro 1459 (Pantenburg 1970: n.p.).

Mappa Mundi by Fra Mauro

Mappa Mundi (the medieval European map of the world) by Fra Mauro pictures the earth as a round planisphere. This does not mean he believed that the earth was a plate. He just used the cartographic techniques of his time. The toponyms of insular Southeast Asia mostly follow Ptolemy, Marco Polo and Niccolòda Conti. Today's Sri Lanka is named Saylam. Sumatra is called *Taprobana over Siometra;* undoubtedly the first time Sumatra is mentioned by that name on a map.

Giava Mazor and Giava Menor are two larger islands on the right side of the map. On the right side are also many smaller islands that do not all bear names. One of them is called Sondai and following George Collingridge this would be the first naming of Sunda. Of interest is also a comment by Fra Mauro concerning the defects of planisphere cartography. He writes that many more islands were known but that there was insufficient space on the map to depict them all (Collingridge 1895: n.p.).

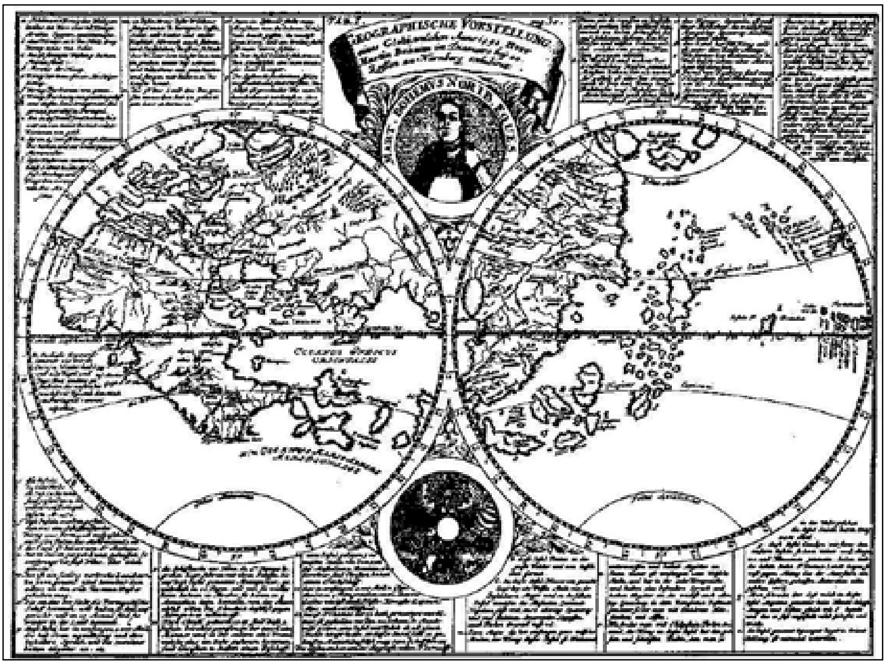


Map 4. Part from Mappa Mundi by Fra Mauro 1459 (Pantenburg 1970: n.p.).

The globe by Martin Behaim

The oldest existing modelling of the earth as a globe was made by Martin Behaim in 1492 in Nuremberg. Behaim visited Portugal around 1480. Dom João the Second, King of Portugal from 1481 until 1495, appointed him as Royal Astronomer.

Behaim follows Ptolemy in using the name Taprobana for Sri Lanka. However, further in the east at the south end of the Malay Peninsula at the position of today's Sumatra he drew an island he called Seylan Insula. He also pictures the islands Pentan/Peutan, Neucuram, Angama, Iava Major, Iava Minor, und Candyn known from Marco Polo and Niccolòda Conti's accounts.[4]



Map 5. Globe by Martin Behaim (1492) in a two-dimensional picture (Klemp 1989: n.p.).

World map by Johannes Ruysch

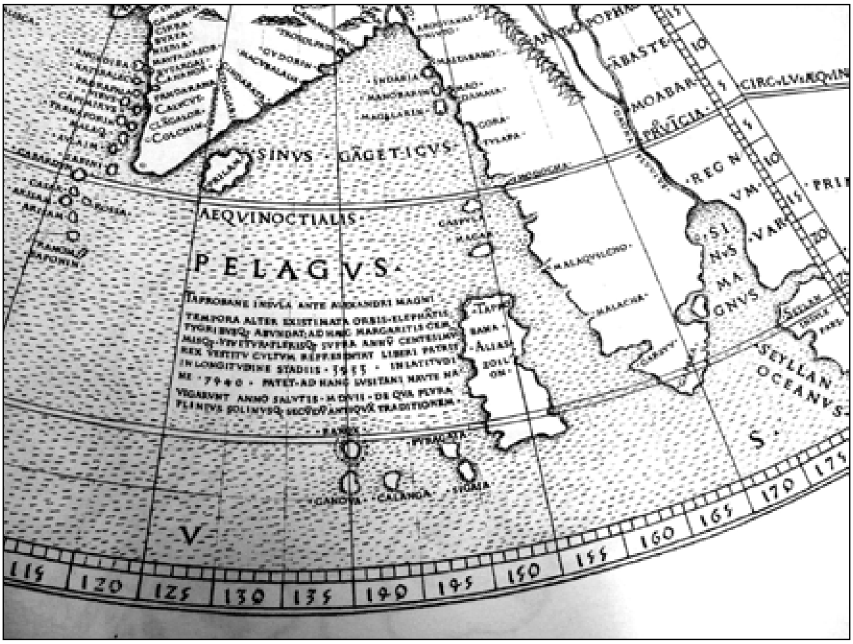
In this map, made in 1508, present-day Sri Lanka is called Prilam. Sumatra is named *Taprobana alias Zoilon*, and further to the east of the Malay Peninsula is an island named *Seylan insule pars* which is depicted only half because the map ends on the right side slightly east of the Malay Peninsula (Map 6). The islands farther to the east are shown on the left side of the map (Map 7): *Seylan insule pars* (eastern part), Neucara, Agama, Peutan, Iava Minor, Candur, Sodur, Iava Maior and the most eastern island Candyn.

Looking at the maps and reading contemporary reports dating from before the sixteenth century is rather difficult to determine the exact knowledge at any certain date. There was no centred or static corpus of knowledge. Every

[4] See map 5. The Map is here reproduced on a copper drawing by Johann Gabriel Doppelmayer (1730).

voyage brought new facts causing the supposed to be rejected or confirmed.

The knowledge of Asia increased constantly since the voyages to the East commenced. The sources were manifold and surely the sailors and merchants in Malacca and other important ports contributed their share while maps used by Malay, Chinese and Arabic sailors were bought or stolen (Collingridge 1906: n.p.).



Map 6. World map by Johannes Ruysch 1508 – eastern side (Pantenburg 1970: Plate 3).



Map 7. World map by Johannes Ruysch 1508 – western side (Pantenburg 1970: Plate 3).

The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires gives a list of the origins of the people one could meet in the market of Malacca those days:

> Moors from Cairo, Mecca, Aden, Abyssinians, men of Kilwa, Malindi, Ormuz, Parsees, Rumes, Turks, Turkomans, Christian Armenians, Gujaratees, men of Chaul, Dabhol, Goa, of the kingdom of Deccan, Malabars and Klings, merchants from Orissa, Ceylon, Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Siamese, men of Kedah, Malays, men of Pahang, Patani, Cambodia, Champa, Cochin, China, Chinese, Lequeos, men of Brunei, Lucoes, men of Tamjompura, Laue, Banka, Linga (they have a thousand other islands), Moluccas, Banda, Bima, Timor, Madura, Java, Sunda, Palembang, Jambi, Tongkal, Indragiri, Kappatta, Menangkabau, Siak, Arqua (Arcat?), Aru, Bata, country of the Tomjano, Pase, Pedir, Maledives (Cortesão 1944: 268).

Also important were the *Lascar,* the local pilots and guides who were sometimes on board of the ships for the whole duration of a voyage, as shown by the following excerpt from the *Tratado do Svccesso qve teve a Nao Sam loam Baptista* (Craesbeeck 1625 reprinted in Boxer 1959) about a shipwreck on the coast of today's Mozambique:

> Here we found a Javanese [sic!] from the shipwrecked party of Nuno Velho Pereira, who was already very old and spoke [Portuguese] badly. [...] He warned us about many things which we should observe in dealing with the Kaffirs, telling us that after four days' journey we would find a Kaffir named Jorge, of the same party. And in the same kraal where this Kaffir lived there was a Portugese born in São Gonçalo de Amarante, called Diogo, who was married and had children (Boxer 1959: 228).

The Javanese mentioned was a survivor of the shipwreck of the Santo Alberto in 1598 on the coast of today's Mozambique and he spent more than 24 years in Africa. Also the first voyage to the Moluccas in 1511 was guided by two local pilots (Sollewijn Gelpke 1995: 83).

Portuguese texts sources after 1511

The Suma Oriental by Tome Pires (1486-1540) is the first official and detailed report about Portuguese activities in Southeast Asia. Written between 1512 and 1515 in Cochin/India and in Malacca, it is mainly a guideline for traders. The original Portuguese text is lost. The topics of the subchapter about Sunda reads as follows and in itself already reveals that the main purpose of the book is trade, because aside the description of the political system, most important are goods, currencies and ports:

- Measurement of the land of Sunda
- King and people from Sunda
- City of the King
- Trade of the Kingdom of Sunda
- Food
- Trade with valuable goods in the Kingdom of Sunda
- Currencies used in Sunda

- Ports of Sunda:
- Bantam
- Pontang (Pomdag)
- Chegujde
- Tamgara
- Calapa
- Chi Manuk (Chemano)
(Cortesão 1944: 166-173).

The following quotation is part of the introduction of the chapter about Java.

> Description and account of the prosperous and proud and rich and chivalrous island of Java and Sunda - what can be known of them.
> The account will begin with the kingdom of Sunda and from there will end at Blambangan (*Bulambuam*), which is the end of the known lands which have *pates*, and after we have spoken about the lords who live on the sea coast, we will then speak of the great heathen king within the hinterland of Java and of his chief captain *Guste Pate*, and we will start by telling what is known of the kingdom of Sunda.
>
> These are the lands which have *pates*, lords and governors, and now as for Sunda. First the king of *Çumda* with his great city of *Dayo*, the town and lands and port of Bantam, the port of Pontang (*Pomdam*), the port of *Cheguide*, the port of *Tamgaram*, the port of *Calapa*, the port of Chi Manuk (*Chemano*); this is Sunda, because the river of Chi Manuk is the limit of both kingdoms.
>
> Now comes Java and we must speak of the king within the hinterland.
> The land of Cherimon (*Cheroboam*), the land of *Japura*, the land of Losari [...].
> (Cortesão 1944: 166).

Excerpt from the part about measurement of the land of Sunda.

> Some people affirm that the kingdom of Sunda take up half of the whole island of Java; other, to whom more authority is attributed, say that the kingdom of Sunda must be a third part of the island and an eight more. They say that the island of Sunda is three hundred leagues round. It ends at the river Chi Manuk. They say that from the earliest times God divided the island of Java from that of Sunda and that of Sunda from that of Java by the said river, which has trees from one end to the other, and they say the trees on each side lean over to each country with the branches on the ground, large trees and beautifully tall. (Cortesão 1944: 166-167)

Here in Pires we find for the first time the account of a river that divides Sunda from Java which he names Chi Manuk.

In Noorduyn's analysis of the old Sundanese text about Bujangga Manik's journey through Java, the border of the Sundanese area was formed by the Ci Pamali, the river of Brebes which today is called Kali Pamali (Noorduyn 1982: 415):

> *Sadatang ka tungtung Sunda meu(n)tasing di Cipamali, datang ka alas Jawa.*
> (When I reached the limits of Sunda, I crossed the river Pamali (and) came to the Javanese territory.)

Interestingly enough, *Pamali* means 'taboo' which fits with the description of the trees. There is also the possibility that this mythological account is misunderstood and/or mixed up with reports about the Serang River between Demak and Jepara which was shippable until the eighteenth century but then shallowed by sand and no longer usable for transport by ship (De Graaf and Pigeaud 1974: 34-35).

Pires remains vague about the geographic description of Sunda. He treats the terms used for the island and the kingdom as synonyms. He also introduced the notion of the division of Java by the river Chi Manuk. Interesting is also his judgment of the character of the Sundanese and the Javanese which is more than influenced by the ongoing trade war between Muslim and Christian countries. He prefers the non-Muslim kingdom of Sunda. Pires writes: "The king of Sunda is a heathen and [so are] all the lords of his kingdom" (Cortesão 1944: 167).

Here, the origins of the name Sunda can only be roughly analysed. It has to be outlined here that Pires used no personalized form for the people of Sunda as he does for the Javanese. So we find the term "Jaãos"[sic!] for Javanese but there are no "Cumdãos" for the Sundanese people, instead he writes *hos de cumda*, meaning literally 'the ones from Sunda' (Cortesão 1978: 288).

The last sentence of the sub-chapter on Sunda may be read as a warning of the situation in the other harbours of Java. The "Moors" are the Arab traders. The conclusion from Pires in relation to trade is clear (Cortesão 1944: 172):

> The kingdom of Sunda does not allow Moors in it, except for a few, because it is feared that with their cunning they may do there what has been done in Java; because the Moors are cunning and they make themselves masters of the countries by cunning, because apparently they have no power. The kingdom of Sunda is ended. Now we will enter into the kingdom of Java and what I have observed of it will be told.

The second important contemporary sources are the *Decadas da Asia* by João de Barros (1496-1570) written in 1539. Volumes I - III were first published in 1552, 1553, and 1563. After De Barros' death, volume IV was published by João Baptista Lavanha (1550-1624), which contains information about the islands of Southeast Asia.[5] Volumes IV to X were edited by De Couto (Kern 1952: 124; Boxer 1981: 111).

Excerpt from the part about Sunda (De Barros et al. 1973-75, Bd. 4: 77-78):

> *Esta Ilha de Sunda he terra mais montuosa por dentro que a Jaüa, tem seis portos tos de mar notaveis, Chiamo que he o estremo da Ilha, Xacatara por outro nome Caravam, Tangaram, Cheguide, Pondang, e Bintam, que são de grande trafego, por razão do comercio que se aqui vem fazer, assi da Jaüa, como de Malaca, e Çamatra.*
> (This island Sunda is a mountainous country in the interior of Java and she has six important seaports: Chiamo, which I divide from the island, then the ports

[5] The German translation used Dietrich Wilhelm Soltau (1821).

> of Xacatara or with another name Caravam, Tangaram, Cheguide, Pondang and Bintam, which all have great traffic for trade, because here they come from Java, but also from Malacca and Sumatra.)

Sunda Calapa is no longer mentioned in the list maybe because the port fell in 1579.

Contrary to Pires' *Suma Oriental*, the *Decadas* by João de Barros are the result of pure studies from written reports and oral accounts. For the geographical and political part about Java, we can assume that the *Suma Oriental* served as basis (Dion 1970: 131).

Another early eyewitness is Antonio Pigafetta (circa 1480-1534). In 1524 he wrote the report of Magellan's world tour (1519-1522). A bit about the geographic terminology of Pigafetta (1968): Pigafetta used the geographic terminology of the Middle Ages because he distinguished "Great-Java" from "Small-Java". For Pigafetta "Great-Java" is clearly the island Java ("Those peoples call it not Java, but Jaoa", Skelton 1969: 142). But his search for the "Small-Java" is somewhat misleading: "And we were also told that Java the Little was the island of Madura, and a half league from Java the Great" (Skelton 1969: 142).

Pigafetta introduces the Javanese term Laut Kidul for the Indian Ocean to Europe (Skelton 1969: 146-147):

> [...] having departed from the island of Timor, we entered the great sea named Laut Chidol, and laying course between west and southwest we left on the right hand to the north (for fear of the King of Portugal) the island of Zamatra (named by the ancients Traprobana).

The name Laut Kidul appeared for the first time as "Mare Landchidol" on the map made by Gerard de Jode in 1590 (see Picture 16).

Sunda is described in the reports of the traders Lodovico Barthema and Odoardo Barbosa published in *Navigazioni e viaggi* by Ramusio (1978). The following is an excerpt from a contemporary English translation "The book of Duarte Barbosa" (Dames 1921):

> §114. ÇUNDA.
> And beyond this aforesaid Çamatra and facing towards Jaoa, lies Çunda, which is but a small kingdom, wherein is great store of pepper. It has its own King who is willing to submit himself to the King our Lord. Here too there are many slaves, and many ships from China get cargoes (Dames 1921: 189).

> Yet further on, after leaving the island of Çunda but not the sea thereof on the South-western side are many islands, both great and small, among which is one very great which they call Jaoa [...] (Dames 1921: 189-190).

Again, we see a confusion of the terms island and kingdom.

At last should be mentioned the epic poem *Os Lusiadas* by Luis de Camões (circa 1524-1580) about the glorious past of the Portuguese. This poem was translated in many European languages and thus spread the toponyms and

the names of Asia all over Europe (Camões 1973: xix). In one part he mentions Sunda:

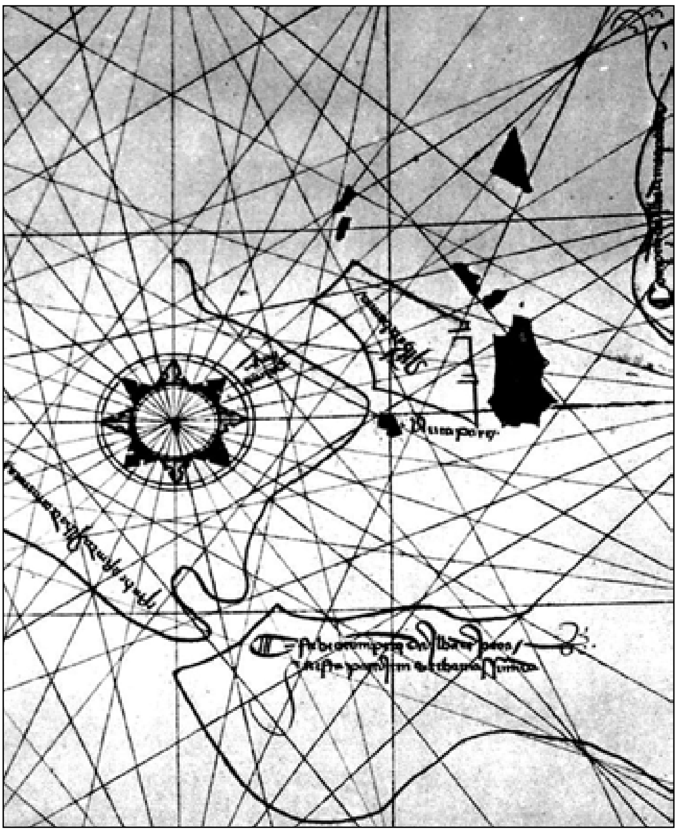
Olha a Sunda tao larger, que huma banda
Esconde pare o Sul difficultuoso.

In the English translation by J.J. Aubertin as follows, Sunda is remarkably translated with Java and in a footnote he remarks Sunda is "another name for Java".

Java [sic!] behold, so large that one vast end
It, covers towards the South tempestuous.

The first Portuguese maps of West-Java

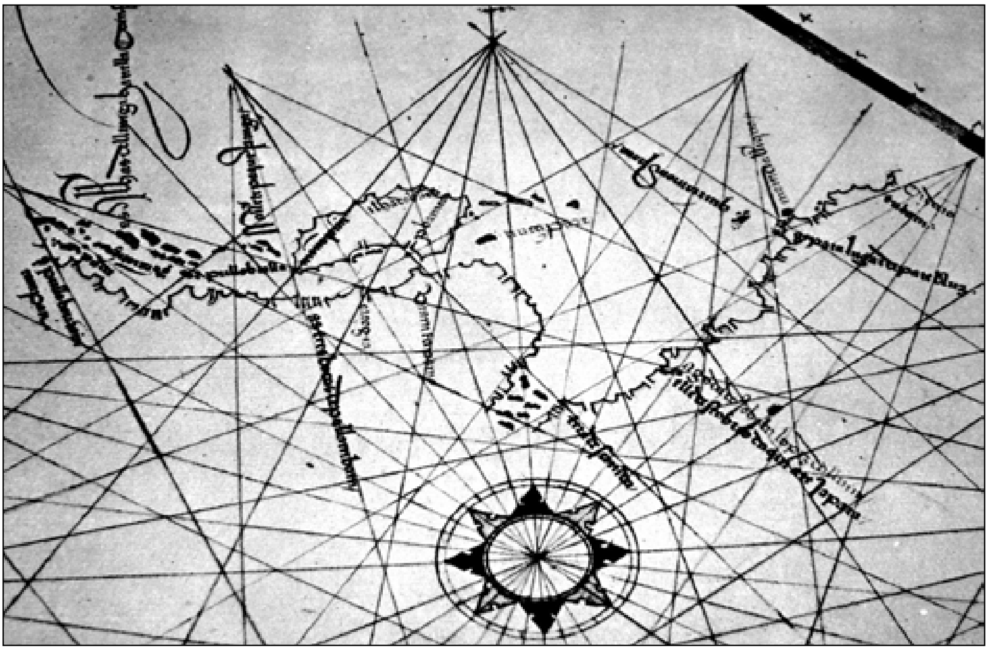
The oldest known Portuguese maps were made in 1513 after the expedition to the Moluccas by Francisco Rodrigues.



Map 8. Francisco Rodrigues map 1513 – 2 (Cortesão 1960: Plate 35 V).

In total there are twelve charts on separate pages (for examples of the charts, see Maps 8-9), each showing parts of the islands while explanations were added to identify the parts of the islands from the different pages, for example:

- *esta he a fim da Ilha de camatara* (this is the end of the island Camatara/ Sumatra)
- *a fim da Ilha de Jaoa* (the end of the island Java)
- *Este he o compeço da Ilha de Jaaoa* [sic!]// *esta parajem se chama SSumda* [sic!]" (This is the beginning of the island Java, and this part is called Sunda)



Map 9. Francisco Rodrigues map 1513 – 1 (Cortesão 1960: Plate 35 VIII).

Was there an old Javanese Map?

Winter, Sollewijn Gelpke, and Cortesão tried to answer this question:

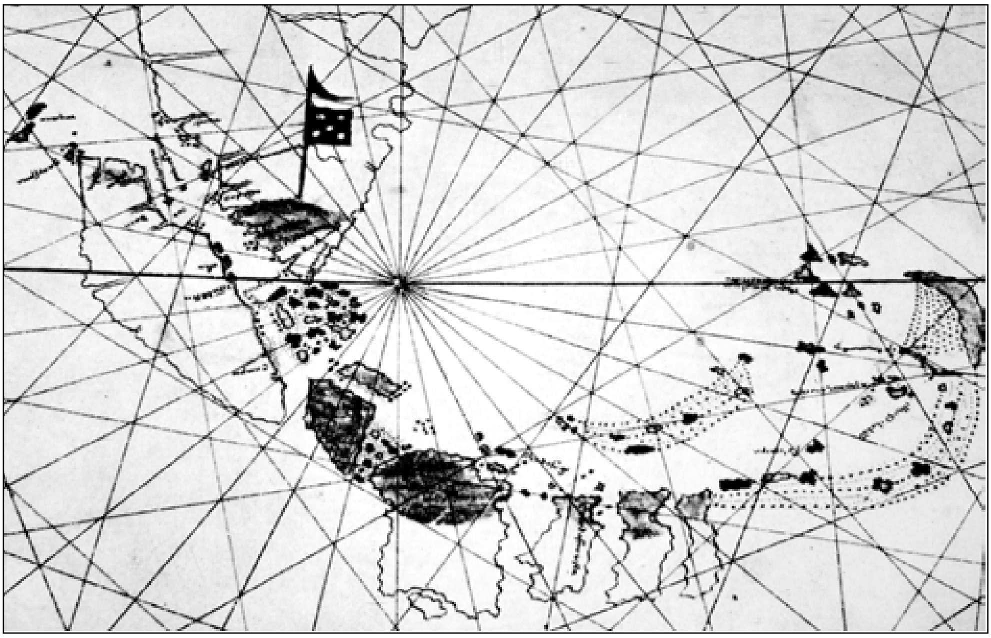
> Twice we find the same region shown in two different ways: first in a primitive fashion with a continuous coastline and secondly constructed according to the standards of European cartography (Winter 1949: 21).

> Instead of supposing that Rodrigues designed these rudimentary charts himself, we are led to the conclusion that they are more probably copies from the Javanese pilot's chart, the more so since Albuquerque reports at the same time that the Javanese place-names had been translated for them (Winter 1949: 23).

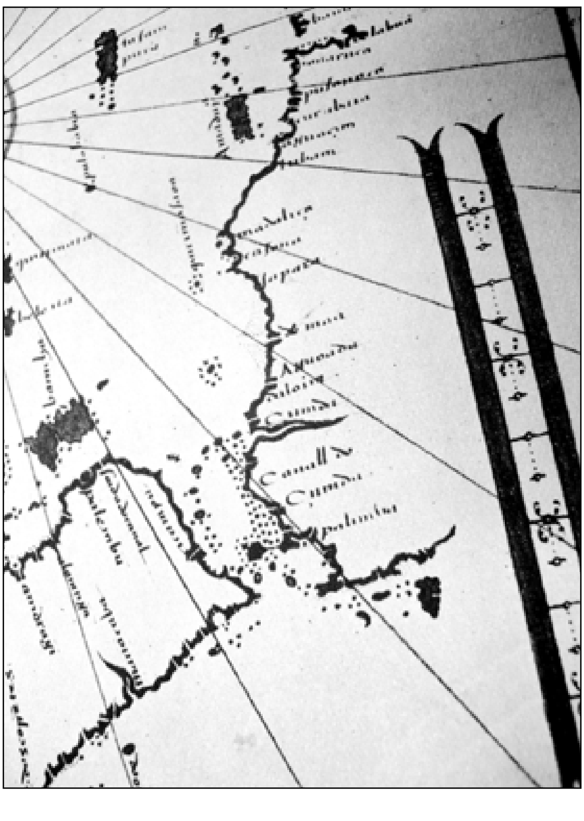
> Afonso de Albuquerque, the second Governor of India, in his letter to King Manuel of Portugal of 1 April 1512 gave a detailed description of a Javanese map, appending hum pedaço de padram (a piece of map) copied from the original by Francisco Rodrigues (Sollewijn Gelpke 1995: 76).

> Undoubtedly [the islands that were not sighted by Rodrigues] were copied from some Javanese map or [one] similar to the one mentioned by Afonso de Albuquerque (Cortesão 1944: xciv, 1978: 58-59 follows Sollewijn Gelpke 1995: 83).

Maps 10-17 show some development and shaping of the island Java. Map 10 was probably made by Pedro Reinel in 1517 and shows a "two-parted" Java, maybe due to the mixed terminology in the reports.



Map 10. Map from 1517 (Anonymous-Pedro Reinel) (Cortesão 1960: Plate 10).



Map 11. Map from 1537 (Anonymous-Gaspar Viegas) (Cortesão 1960: Plate 52 B).

The southern coast of Java is still unknown and therefore not depicted.



Map 12. Map by Fernão Vaz Dourado 1568 (Cortesão 1960: Plate 254).



Map 13. Java-map by João Baptista Lavanha from 1615 (published in *Decadas da Asia*) (De Barros et al. 1973-75: n.p./ opposite p. 190).

The Map by Fernão Vaz Dourado 1568 (Map 12) shows a “cumDacalapa“ and an “oDai“ (dayeu). The remarkable Java map by Lavanha (Map 13) with the dividing river between Sunda and Java.

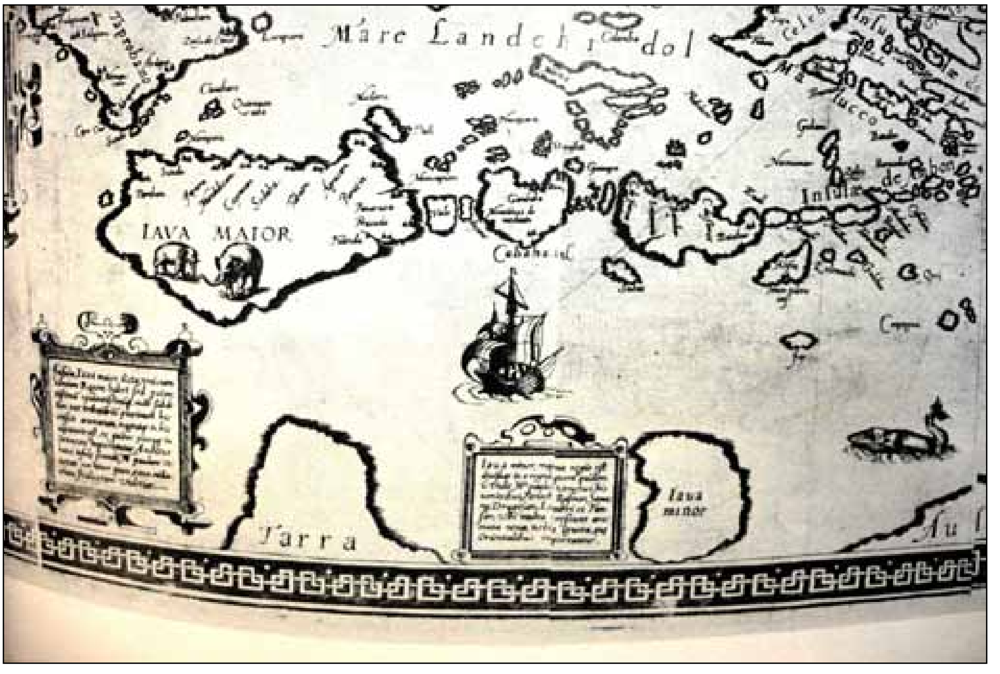


Map 14. Map by Giacomo Gastaldi 1561 (Schilder 1986: Plate 54).



Map 15. Map by Abraham Ortelius 1564 (Klemp 1989: Plate 1.4).

On the map by Gastaldi from 1561 (Map 14) the Sunda kingdom "Regno de Zunda" is placed in South Sumatra. Various names for Sunda are used (Zunda, Cuda, Sanda) and it is placed on Java and Sumatra, which is called "Samotra vel Taprobana" (Map 15). Gerard de Jode named the sea north (!) to Java "Mare Landchidol". He shows a city named "Fideida" at the south-east end of Java. See also the misplaced "Iava minor" in a white spot of the map.



Map 16. Map by Gerard de Jode 1590 (Schilder 1986: Plate 58).

All the maps (Maps 1-16) show some aspects of the transfer of knowledge set in motion by the Portuguese voyages in the sixteenth century. With the extension of the Portuguese empire and its trade network the organization began to decentralize. The trade post in Goa/India became important not only for the administration but as a place for the collection of information and a centre of cartography. Even though all collected information and material had to be send to Portugal, the documents would be copied and partly further processed in Goa (Zandvliet 1998: 21-22).

Some results of the presented maps (Maps 1-16)

There were continuous attempts to identify the island Taprobana ending in a sort of consensus among the cartographers that it was Sumatra in older times:

- *Sumamatra olim Taprobano* (Sumatra before Taprobana).
- *Samotra vel Taprobana* (Sumatra or Taprobana)

We found many misspellings of Laut Kidul on many maps made during the sixteenth century:

- *Mare Landchidol* is a misspelling in one chapter of the edition of Pigafetta by Ramusio 1978: 944: *Viaggio di Antonio Pigafetta "Del mare chiamato Lantchidol [sic!], e del ritorno delle navi in Siviglia"*. There is also another interpretation of the name Lantchidol (Suárez 1999: 146):[6]

> In ancient times, *L'Antichthones* was used to denote southern Asian realms. It was employed by Pliny in the first century to refer to *Taprobana* (Ceylon), but translocated into Southeast Asian waters by Pigafetta and Gastaldi because they believed *Taprobana* to be Sumatra.

There are innovative interpretations of local names:
- *Burne olim Bone Fortune* (Borneo before Good Luck).
  There is a variety of spellings of names due to phonological reasons and because of copying of handwritten texts.
- *Odea, daio, dai*, and adding a small circle as symbol for a city resembling the letter "o": *odaio, odai* (Dayeuh)
  There are many variations for the name Sunda:
- *Cuda, Cunda, Cumda, Zunda*.
  Variations for the name Ceylon:
- *Seilam, Seylan, Zoilon*.
  There are also newly invented cities, for example:
- *Fideida* at the south-east coast of Java. Following Collingridge (1895) this name is an abbreviation of *a fin da Ilha de Jaoa* (the end of the island Java) as seen on maps as for example on Rodrigues 1513.

At last, there is the placement of yet undiscovered islands in the "white spaces on the map", like Java Minor.

A short discourse excursion: the re-publishing of a map

The Portuguese ambitions in the archipelago were to end in the sixteenth century. This became possible through the *Itinerario* von Jan Huygen van Linschoten, which opened the trade routes to the spice islands for all European countries. The Dutch were the most prominent and most aggressive nation in the spice trade for the years to come. In 1696 the Dutch Pieter van der Aa published a re-print of the Map of Java by Lavanha (see Map 17).

The purpose of this publication is hard to guess. It is not a real reprint of the original so it seems not to be a collector's item. Whether the added remark by Van der Aa in the right upper corner should be read as a mockery or sarcasm about the faulty Portuguese scientist or as a neutral comment to the growing knowledge about Asia is difficult to decide without further historical research about the publishing activities of Pieter van der Aa:

[6] In Collingridge (1895) is also a hint for another meaning: "For another interpretation of Laut Kidol see also Verhandelingen Betrekkelijk het Zeewezen, volume 27 pages 165, 166". But this source was not available.

'T KONINKRYK SUNDA met dat van IAVA, by d'Inwoonderen voor een EILAND Gehouden, en door den Hr. I.B. de LAVANHA als twee Eylanden Beschreven.

(The Kingdom of Sunda and that of Java, from the inhabitants believed to be one island and by Hr. I.B. de Lavanha described as two islands.)



Map 17. Java map published by Pieter van der Aa 1696 (Oey 1995: 16-17).

Perspective

The European description of the toponyms and the names of the Indonesian archipelago started at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Historical and political developments influenced the scientific approaches and the methods of upcoming disciplines like anthropology and linguistics. Mainly due to the strict monopoly of knowledge the ruling power enforced, all upcoming disciplines fought against the dominance of stereotyping and only slowly began to differentiate between the multiple languages and ethnicities.

It is not hard to detect mistakes and misunderstandings made in the past having the results and techniques of modern science at hand. The development of cartography progressed over centuries. Maps became more accurate and exact. Nevertheless, the mechanisms of knowledge transfer, the mechanics of accumulating facts have not changed much. Until today, some relicts may be found from the long history of the geographic description of the archipelago. For example, on old maps today's Java Sea has been referred to as Sunda Sea. Until today, some modern maps still feature the hydronym Sunda Sea but now situated in the area of the Flores Sea. In map making history, the Sunda Sea's "relocation" thus follows the same principle as the 'movement' of the

island Java Minor to the east.

Sunda as a name and topic remained strong in the shared memory of Europe. Not in the sense of a kingdom or of a culture but as a hyperonym for insular Southeast Asia, for example in the geomorphology of the Sunda-Shelf, in the geography the Sunda Islands, the Sunda Archipelago, in the zoology of the various Sunda Animals and not at last the worldwide known Sunda Strait.

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